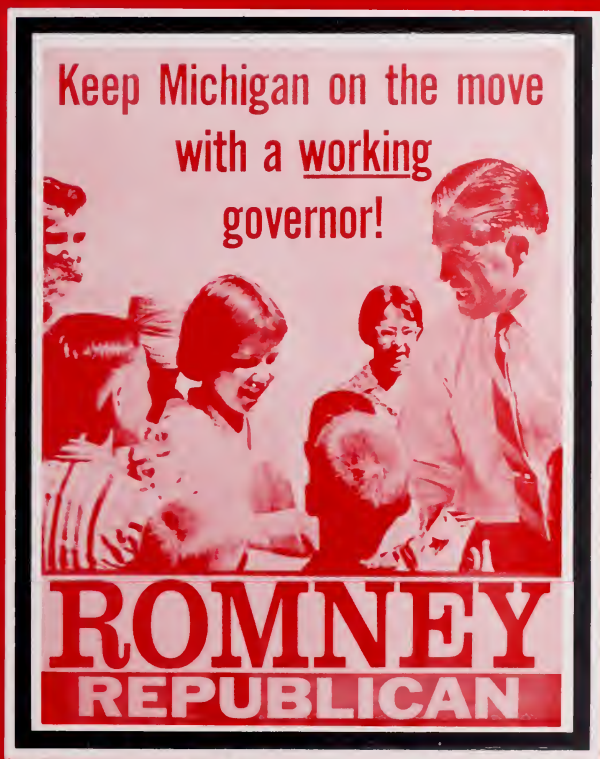




THE KEYNOTER



**APIC INTERVIEW:
GOV. GEORGE ROMNEY**

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

In this issue, for the third time in the last five issues, *The Keynoter* has devoted its feature section to the individuals and issues of an APIC specialty chapter. The excellent support that *Keynoter* Editor Roger Fischer has received from the members of these chapters illustrates once again their importance to our organization. Each year, new specialty chapters emerge, the most recent being the Willkie Chapter formed by Ed Stahl.

In my view, after 21 years as a collector and 17 years in APIC, this move to specialization will continue to grow in our hobby. While most collectors start as generalists, collecting items from all candidates, after a while their collections seem to become more concentrated in one or two candidates as they find a particular interest in one period or individual. Clearly, unless a collector is related to one of America's great fortunes, specializing in Alton Parker or New York City mayors is an attractive route to acquiring a more thorough collection on a reasonable budget. In doing so, the collector also becomes more expert in this particular field, learning valuable information about the candidate(s) and the era. The sharing of this information through specialty chapters and *The Keynoter* allows us all to benefit from the efforts of each of us.

The APIC Archival Collection at George Mason University continues to grow. Extensive groups of items were received from Ted Hake and Richard Lyon. If you would like to discuss contributions to the collection, please call me in my office, toll free 800-336-0156.

The officers and Board of Directors join me in wishing you a happy 1982.

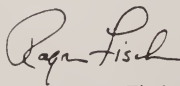


Robert A. Fratkin

EDITOR'S MESSAGE

1981 has turned out to be the most gratifying year of my tenure as editor, mainly because of the outstanding level of support I have received from so many knowledgeable and unselfish individuals. I would especially like to thank Bill Arps, Jon Curtis, Bob Fratkin, David Frent, Joe and Vi Hayes, Stan Hinden, Michael Kelly, Elmer Koppelman, Ronnie Lapinsky, Erroll Leslie, Joe Levine, Preston Malcom, Rob Payne, John Pfeifer, Mort Rose, Bob Rouse, Joe Wasserman, and Ted Watt for their outstanding contributions to the four 1981 *Keynoters*. With the quantity and quality of contributions increasing steadily and with APIC approaching fiscal solvency at long last, I am confident that the 1982 *Keynoters* will continue to prove worthy of our fraternity.

Happy New Year!



Roger Fischer

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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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Covers: Front—red, white and blue paper poster; Back—black and white magazine and newspaper advertisements.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Spring *Keynoter* will feature the two Presidential campaigns of Thomas Woodrow Wilson and Wilson-related, Liberty Loan and other patriotic items from World War I, showing many previously unpictured items. Also featured will be Presidential inaugural license plates. Regular features will include Part 9 of Project 1980, multigate posters and the APIC Postcard Project.



APIC INTERVIEW:

GEORGE ROMNEY

Interviewer: Michael Kelly

George Romney was born in 1907 in Mexico, where his Mormon parents had fled to avoid religious persecution in the United States. They returned when he was five. Moving to Washington as a young man, Romney served as an assistant to Massachusetts Senator David Walsh before beginning a career in business that eventually brought him to the presidency of American Motors. Challenging the Detroit concept of ever-larger "gas-guzzlers" by introducing the Rambler, a fuel-efficient compact automobile, he brought prosperity to American Motors before his successors abandoned the Rambler for larger models just in time for the OPEC oil embargo.

In 1961 Romney played a major role in creating a new Michigan state constitution and in 1962 he was elected the first Republican governor of Michigan in fourteen years. Quickly achieving national prominence, he became a presidential prospect in 1964. He received write-in votes in some early primaries, was placed on the primary ballot in Oregon against his wishes, and wound up being part of the "stop Goldwater" effort at the 1964 Republican convention. Ever the independent, he would not join Nelson Rockefeller and Henry Cabot Lodge in supporting William Scranton's last-minute candidacy, and received a few votes from Michigan and Kansas delegates. He refused to endorse Goldwater in the general election and won re-election to the governorship by a wide margin while the Goldwater-Miller national ticket was massively rejected in Michigan and elsewhere.

In 1966 Romney led a Republican effort at the grassroots level that re-elected him with nearly two thirds of the vote, elected Robert Griffin as Michigan's first Republican senator

since 1954, swept into office five new Republican congressmen, and gave the GOP control of the state legislature. This effort established Romney as a front runner for the 1968 Republican presidential nomination.

In 1968 Romney found himself running into trouble with the national press and was widely criticized for disagreeing with Lyndon Johnson's policies on Vietnam. On a television show in Michigan Romney used the term "brainwashing" to describe how the Johnson Administration had pressured him to support its course of action. The reaction made Romney appear weak and wreaked fatal damage to what had begun as a very promising campaign. At the 1968 Republican convention Romney was again nominated for president and received votes from Michigan and Utah. He also won some vice presidential votes cast by delegates protesting the selection of Spiro Agnew. After Richard Nixon's victory in November, Romney joined the Nixon cabinet as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and served in that capacity for three years before resigning.

My interview with Governor Romney took place in his lovely hilltop home in suburban Detroit. During the interview his wife Lenore (herself a Republican nominee for the United States Senate in 1970 against Phil Hart) brought in fruit juice and cake to make me feel very much at home. The conversation lasted for an hour and a half, covering a multitude of topics from America's industrial future to anti-trust laws, politics, and religion. Here are portions that should be of particular interest to *Keynoter* readers.

Interview photographs by Linda Kaye Kelly.



Michael Kelly



Governor George Romney

Kelly: "The Romney family has always had a tradition of being active in its community. Your father, I believe, held elective office in Utah."

Romney: "Yes, he did."

Kelly: "As a young man, did you think of politics as a career?"

Romney: "Well, not necessarily. I had some thoughts that I might get involved later in life. I used to read a lot of books about people in public life—biographies of presidents and Canadian prime ministers, histories. So I had an early interest, yes."

Kelly: "When you went to work for Senator Walsh, what was it like working in the U. S. Senate?"

Romney: "Well, it was a great experience. I was delighted to be there because it gave me an opportunity to sit right on the floor of the Senate. I had developed material for him that he used in the tariff debates. They were considering the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill. He was responsible for certain portions of the bill for the Democrats and because I had prepared the material he needed for the debates, he took me right over on the floor and I sat right beside him for about nine months and I saw the Senate operate from the inside. That was a great experience. There were some interesting personalities there at that time. Pat Harrison was there, Senator Reed from Pennsylvania, Tom Heflin of Alabama, George of Georgia... Borah was still there, Norris from Nebraska was still there."

Kelly: "Did anyone particularly impress or influence you?"

Romney: "Yes, as a matter of fact. Cousins of Michigan influenced me because my observation was that an individual like Cousins who had financial independence was more likely to vote his convictions and disregard the political winds of the moment than some of those who were depending on the Senate salary to support themselves and their families. So I decided at that time that I didn't want to get involved in public office unless I was financially independent."

Kelly: "When you entered the national political scene, you were often compared with Wendell Willkie. What did you think of Willkie?"

Romney: "Well, I admired Willkie. I saw Willkie in Washington a good deal when I was there representing the aluminum company. I saw him make some of his appearances in front of committees of Congress. I was very impressed with Mr. Willkie. I thought he was one of the few businessmen who were really able to deal effectively with political problems and he had a good sense of public affairs and the public interest, so I thought very highly of him."

Kelly: "Your path has crossed that of Richard Nixon often. What do you think of Nixon?"

Romney: "Split personality—brilliant politically, unethical in his political activities and his defense of those activities. I didn't support him in 1960 even though he tried to get me to run for the Senate. I thought he had reformed and stopped some of his past political practices when he asked me to serve in his Cabinet. It turned out he hadn't. Now he's very brilliant, a very able man. I



"ESO ES PROGRESO"

UN REPORTAJE SOBRE

"Michigan En Marcha"

Desde Enero de 1963 cuando el Gobernador George Romney tomó posesión, el Estado de Michigan ha puesto mucha más énfasis en muchos aspectos. Algunos de éstos el más grande y singular período de progreso legislativo y administrativo durante un año. Observamos una parte más de este progreso.

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don't think we've had a president who's had a better understanding of domestic problems and international problems than Nixon had, but he's the most tragic figure in the history of America because he destroyed himself. He committed political suicide at the very time he was in the position to provide the needed leadership to change the direction of things in this country. The result is that they got much worse before we got some changes and that's most unfortunate."

Kelly: "It's interesting that his downfall came after the largest landslide in history."

Romney: "Yes, but it was the things he did to do that that brought about his downfall. My analysis is that he was excessively ambitious and that, coupled with his past use of questionable political methods, was his downfall. He recognized, and I think correctly, that in order to do domestically what he felt needed to be done he needed to have a popular mandate in the '72 election because he was dealing with a Democratic Congress. So all the dirty tricks, as far as I can analyze, were designed to destroy all of the Democratic candidates other than the weakest one—McGovern. They were used to destroy Muskie, Humphrey and the others so that he could run against McGovern and thus get a mandate. That was his undoing. He could have won. He didn't have to encourage them in all of those dirty tricks to win, but he wanted to win by an overwhelming mandate because he wanted to go down in history as the greatest president the nation had ever seen."

Kelly: "In 1964, just as Goldwater seemed to have the GOP nomination sewn up, Nixon publicly called on you to become an active candidate. Did his statement come as a surprise to you?"

Romney: "Well, no. Nixon tried to get me to become a candidate down in Cleveland at the Governors' Conference...to become a declared candidate and I refused to do it. I indicated my concern about Goldwater and the direction that things were going. I did everything short of becoming an open, declared candidate but Nixon urged me to become an open candidate. He later denied that, you know. He made public statements on it but subsequently, because he was being criticized, he tried to deny it."

16 important
gains
for labor, jobs and
progress in Michigan
made during the first
ROMNEY
ADMINISTRATION



Kelly: "That year you didn't endorse Barry Goldwater for president."

Romney: "No, I accepted him. There's a difference."

Kelly: "In retrospect do you think that was the right decision?"

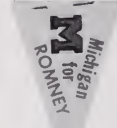
Romney: "Oh sure. Sure, because one of the things that was basic to the revival of the Republican party in Michigan was a change in its position on civil rights. The new constitution plus the steps I took to establish a strong civil rights commission had begun that. I appointed two men as co-chairmen of the new civil rights commission because I knew it had to have public respect. One was John Feiken, who is now a federal judge, and the other was Daimen Keith, who is also now a federal judge; one Republican, one Democrat; one white, one black. The Republican party rebuilding that was occurring in Michigan was a result of our being positive on the civil rights issue. Goldwater and his candidacy v as trying to cash in on what he thought would be a backlash over the civil rights program. For me to have endorsed Goldwater would have destroyed to a considerable extent the increased public support we were getting in Michigan as Republicans ...that together with extremism, the Birch Society. I offered amendments at the San Francisco convention on both these points and they almost passed despite Goldwater's opposition to them. It was very close. They almost passed. So my refusal to endorse him was because he refused to support positions that I thought were fundamental to the nation and the party in Michigan." **Kelly:** "At the time, it seemed as if the GOP was taking a temporary rightward lurch. Since then it seems as if the move was permanent."

Romney: "Well, you see, that's where people—well, the media—have never understood me. While I was for civil rights and opposed to extremism, I was a conservative from a fiscal standpoint and I've been concerned with this constant shift of power to Washington and all those things. After all, in the constitutional convention, I got Eisenhower to come out and tell us what we could do to reduce the possible burden that a president has. One of the principal things he indicated was that we should strengthen state government to do at the state level things that otherwise get done in Washington."

Kelly: "Do you think, then, that the GOP today is following its traditional course?"

Romney: "The parties changed positions way back in the

An Action Team for an Action State



thirties. Up until the thirties the Republican party had been more inclined to support federal programs as a solution to problems. The Democratic party had been a states' rights party. Under Roosevelt and Truman the positions changed and the Republican party became the party more concerned about maintaining the decentralization of power and responsibility in the country and the Democratic party became a party more concerned with solving problems through the federal government."

Kelly: "Do you think that may be because until the thirties the Republicans tended to control the federal government and the Democrats tended to control it thereafter?"

Romney: "Could be. But you go back, the Democratic party was the states' rights party. That's why currently you are seeing some shifts in the alignment as southern Democrats who are basically conservative are beginning to not only support Reagan's programs, some are actually becoming Republicans. If you go back over the history of it, no Democratic candidate except Carter has carried the "solid South" since World War II. Truman didn't. Strom Thurmond carried it against Truman. Then Eisenhower carried much of the South against Stevenson. After Eisenhower you had Nixon taking much of the South over Kennedy and, of course, Goldwater took the Deep South over



Johnson, then Wallace and Nixon carried the South. Carter won because he was from the South. Except for that, since World War II the South has been other than Democratic. We're seeing a basic realignment of the party structure as a result of the opportunity the South finally has to support a philosophy they agree with."

Kelly: "What does that do to that midwestern and northeastern Republican tradition you've been associated with?"

Romney: "Again, I'm not as liberal as (Michigan Governor William) Milliken. They called me a 'moderate,' I know."

Kelly: "I guess the media could never peg you properly. You were presented as sort of a midwestern Nelson Rockefeller."

Romney: "Well, Nelson Rockefeller—he didn't help me either, but that's another story."

Kelly: "Didn't Gerald Ford support you for president in 1964?"

Romney: "Yes, he seconded my nomination at the San Francisco convention."

Kelly: "Was he involved in state affairs much?"

Romney: "He was involved at the conventions, but he was never involved in state issues. When it came to the senatorial candidates or something like that, yes. He was one of the party leaders in the state and consequently had a voice in things like that."

Kelly: "You mentioned Nelson Rockefeller before. How do you feel he contributed to what you were trying to do in 1968?"

Romney: "Well...uh...not as much as he didn't contribute (laughter). It's a mixed picture. Look, ostensibly he was supporting me for the nomination. Yet he was the one who, without ever talking to me, threw my hat in the ring too early—a year before I was ready to be a candidate. I accepted an invitation to be the Lincoln Day speaker down in Nassau County, New York. There was no indication he was even to be at the dinner or have anything to do with it. I got down to New York and the banner headlines are 'Rockefeller Endorses Romney for President.' He held a press conference that morning and announced he was supporting me for president and—with this public impression that I was a liberal or a moderate—his candidate for vice president was Jacob Javits (laughter), who would be about the worst person that I could have running with me. So there I am, he's thrown my hat in the ring. That's when the press, against the background of Goldwater having sewn up the nomination a year early in '64, began to cover me as though I were a candidate (laughter). That's rough, you know. That was in February, 1967, a year early. So that didn't help."

Kelly: "Of course, Rockefeller didn't realize what he was doing."

Romney: "Well, that's another story. The one thing I knew was that I couldn't win the nomination if I had to split the vote that wasn't to go to Nixon with somebody else. The one thing I knew was that I had to be certain that Nelson Rockefeller would support me right through the convention because I knew I would



have a real battle all the way through. So I talked with him and he gave me absolute assurance that he would support me all the way through the convention. I then asked the Republican governors as a group—who were very strong at that time because the majority of governors were Republicans and they wanted to have a great influence over the selection of the candidate—I asked them not to support anyone else until I'd had a chance to demonstrate whether or not I could win the nomination. If I ever found myself in a position where I couldn't win the nomination, I said, 'I'll let you know and I'll get out so you can get behind who you want to, because I know you want to get behind somebody.' He was party to that too. On two subsequent occasions I talked to him about the necessity of his support. When I began to slide in the polls as a result of them picking away at me on Vietnam following the 'brainwashing' statement, on the boat to the Virgin Islands (for the National Governors' Conference) for three days in a row I talked to Nelson about the situation. I told him, 'Look, I'm slipping in the polls; you're rising in the polls—you get in and I'll get out.' 'Oh no,' he said, 'oh no, I don't want to be president' and he told the press that at the time.

All through that period, they'd been trying to get him to say that he'd accept a draft or something like that, because if he'd accept a draft that would make him a candidate, you know. Two weeks before the New Hampshire primary he comes to Detroit to a fund raising luncheon to raise funds for me, has a press conference, they ask him if he'd accept a draft, he says yes, there are circumstances under which he'd accept a draft. I was in



ROMNEY
FOR
GOVERNOR





Oregon at the time campaigning. I heard about it as I went to catch my plane to go back to Boston to campaign in New Hampshire. They told me the statement that Nelson had made in Detroit and over the weekend I knew the jig was up. There was no possible way I could win the nomination with Nelson Rockefeller also a candidate. He had made himself a candidate. That is the principal reason I pulled out. It was hopeless and I had a commitment to the Republican governors that if I ever found myself in that position I'd get out so they could do what they wanted to do. My wife was campaigning in Wisconsin when I decided to withdraw, so I called her. I went down to Washington to withdraw...all the governors were invited to a White House reception by Johnson. My wife said to me before we went to the reception, 'When I see Nelson Rockefeller can I tell him what I think?' I said, 'Sure, you can tell him what you think.' So by coincidence, the first couple we bump into as we walk into the White House reception is Nelson and Happy Rockefeller (laughter). Nelson rushes up and throws his arms around Lenore and me in that ebullient way he had. He said, 'Why did you let George pull out?' She pushed him back and said, 'Well, Nelson, there couldn't be *two* candidates, you know.' He turned red and walked away."

"Subsequently he said in talking about it later, 'Well, I didn't really realize the significance of what I said out there in response to that question in Detroit.' Well, there was no guy who knew more of what he was saying in a press conference than Nelson Rockefeller. But in any event, you see, I got caught between two

men who were determined to be president of the United States regardless of what it took. One was Nixon, the other was Rockefeller. Methods different, but both absolutely determined to be president of the United States. It was an interesting experience (laughter). So Nelson Rockefeller was helpful and harmful. He was helping me financially, but undercutting me. I remember way back, Wallace—the *60 Minutes* Wallace—told me once, 'Someday I ought to tell you what Nelson would say when you were both down in Puerto Rico, Dorado Beach.' Following the 1966 election we both happened by pure chance to vacation down there. But Wallace never told me. Some of the stories appearing at that time were damaging too. But in any event, an interesting experience."

Kelly: "How do you evaluate the impact of the 'brainwashing' statement?"

Romney: "Well, it hurt me politically, sure. I continued to drop some in the polls. On the other hand, my position was the right position. I was the first on the national scene to decide we had made a mistake going into Vietnam."

Kelly: "You were even ahead of McCarthy, weren't you?"

Romney: "I was ahead of McCarthy. McCarthy came along later and benefitted from that in the New Hampshire primary. As a matter of fact, that was the beginning of the end of Johnson as a candidate—what McCarthy was able to do. I'm convinced that what McCarthy and I did in New Hampshire convinced Nixon, who was very astute politically. After all, what Nixon did was almost impossible politically—to resurrect himself—and one of the things he did was to say, 'I've got a peace plan.' Now, he *had* no peace plan. I know that because when he talked to me about going into the Cabinet I outlined to him what I thought he had to do to deal with Vietnam, which included a peace plan and what I thought it ought to be. Kissinger told me after we were all in Washington that after I left the suite with Nixon, Nixon called him right in and told him what I'd outlined to him and said, 'Go to work on the plan.' He had no plan, but he was astute politically and he knew that the people wanted peace in Vietnam (laughter). Sure, I paid the price for being right too soon. Walter Lippmann has concluded that you can't be right too soon and win elections. Being right too soon is taking a position on a highly controversial subject that people don't yet understand."

Kelly: "At the '68 convention, you allowed your name to be put in nomination for vice president against Spiro Agnew..."

Romney: "Oh, you say I allowed my name—I didn't even know my name was going to be put in nomination. That was a surprise to me. I heard before the nominations that they were going to try to get a nominee to oppose Agnew. They tried to get Lindsay. Lindsay turned them down."

Kelly: "He wound up seconding Agnew's nomination."

Romney: "That's right. Someone said I might be nominated but

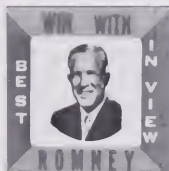
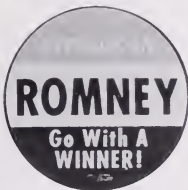




Romney's Right!



Where he stands...



Profile: George Romney.



I didn't know I was going to be nominated until I heard it from the platform. That was the first time I knew I was going to be nominated. But on the other hand, that gave me the satisfaction of having run as a candidate against both Nixon and Agnew (laughter), there's some satisfaction in that (laughter). There were three governors that had refused to endorse anyone ahead of the Miami convention—Agnew, Rhodes, and Romney. The three of us had been talking together and had agreed that we would not support anybody until we got right down to the convention and we could see how things were going and then we'd decide what to do. That was weeks before the convention. The Sunday before the convention opened, Agnew called me and said, 'I think we've got to support somebody and I'm going to support Nixon.' So he broke away from the understanding that Rhodes and I had with him and I think that's one reason he got the nomination as vice president."

Kelly: "What do you think of Watergate?"

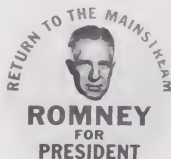
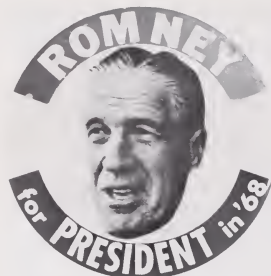
Romney: "I think it was terrible. It was absolutely indefensible. While I recognize that other presidents have done things that were not justified, I don't think anyone did what Nixon did in terms of the scope of it, the extent to which he used White House power to implement methods that were designed to pervert the elective process. And then (laughter) no one lied publicly about what he was doing and did it openly and brazenly only to be disapproved by his own tapes! Of course, I felt used, I mean literally. I really did. When I got through with the whole experience down there I felt that Nixon really used some of us."

Kelly: "Were you glad to get out of Washington?"

Romney: "I got out of my own volition. I didn't get out because of Watergate."

Kelly: "Weren't you the first Cabinet member to leave?"

Romney: "Well, he fired Hickel and Hardin left Agriculture to take a job with Ralston-Purina, but I was the first to really get out on my own just because I concluded that what I was expected to do was impossible under the circumstances. I got out because I couldn't get either the President or the Congress to take adequate action to enable me to meet housing needs and to deal with the problems of the cities. It wasn't because they didn't understand what needed to be done but because there was too much political risk in doing it. There wasn't enough 'public understanding,' in their words, to do what needed to be done and so I decided to get out. I talked with Nixon before he went to Peking and then I



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Michael E. Kelly
Chairman



Letterhead



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announced in the summer of '72 that I was getting out."

Kelly: "What do you think of Reagan?"

Romney: "Well, I have mixed reactions. Some of the things he's doing I think are very necessary. Certainly he's handling himself very well. He's a skillful leader. But on the other hand, I don't think he's doing enough to deal with the problems we face. I think his programs to deal with inflation and our economic situation are not going to do more than Nixon was able to do. When Nixon took office he said his two top domestic priorities, as stated in his State of the Union address, were inflation and the problem of the cities. Inflation was worse when he left office than when he took office and, after all, Nixon balanced the budget in 1969, almost balanced it in 1970. He had a tight monetary policy and it just wasn't adequate to curb inflation. I don't think the current efforts are adequate. The cutting of spending is a necessary thing, but trying to cut taxes at the same time is a contradiction."

Kelly: "Looking at all the things you've done, what gives you the greatest sense of satisfaction?"

Romney: "My family. It's simple. Children, grandchildren. My church. I was asked that by a student at a university that my wife and I were visiting and the woman professor, when I said that, said 'How weird'."

Kelly: "Thank you, Governor Romney." ★

ROMNEY

GREAT for '68



ROMNEY GETS RESULTS



VOTE REPUBLICAN



THE CAMPAIGNS OF “TAIL-GUNNER JOE” McCARTHY

by Elmer Koppelman

Neither the Wisconsin nor the national political scene has ever experienced anyone quite like Joseph Raymond McCarthy. Ambitious to excess, he may have loved the limelight and controversy more than any political leader of our time. He had the ability to remain calm while chaos was all about him; this may have been due to the fact that he was usually the cause of the confusion. For all the hate that his career in the United States Senate inspired, he probably hated very few people. He looked at whatever he did as a game, a game to be won regardless of what it took to gain the victory. He would often deliver a speech savagely attacking someone (usually a reporter sitting in the audience) and after the speech he would ask that same individual to join him for a drink! His legacy was such that his name became a part of the language to describe any investigation that flouted the rights of individuals in pursuit of its ends.

Born on November 14, 1908, the fifth son of Timothy and Bridget McCarthy, he grew up on the family farm in central Wisconsin, did his share of the work, and was reputed to have been a very shy boy. As a teenager he went into business for himself. With sixty-five dollars earned working for a neighbor, he began raising chickens and in a few years owned a flock of ten thousand broilers and more than two thousand laying hens. Everything was going well until he dumped a truckload of chickens into a ditch trying to negotiate a curve. He then took ill and failed to tend his flock; he recovered but the birds did not. In most cases they died from neglect. This brought to an end a promising career in agriculture.

When he was eighteen McCarthy began to become more extroverted and assertive and began to entertain ambitions. At twenty he enrolled in high school and, despite his embarrassment over his age, finished a four-year program in a single year by developing an uncanny ability to “cram” information. He then enrolled in Marquette University in Milwaukee, beginning in engineering but soon switching to law. At Marquette he became very active in student politics. He ran for the presidency of a campus debating society, lost, but gained publicity that came in handy when he ran for the

presidency of his class. After securing a tie on the first round of voting, McCarthy exhibited the ethical dimension for which he would later become famous by agreeing with his opponent that they would vote for one another, breaking the pact, and winning the runoff by two votes! Also typical of his later political style, McCarthy sought to make amends when his rival's father died by cutting classes, borrowing a battered Ford, and driving to the funeral. As Lately Thomas has written in the McCarthy biography *When Even Angels Wept*, “Win or lose, he never bore a grudge against an opponent, and he could not believe that anybody could bear a grudge against him. People liked Joe, brassy as he was, and it wasn't his fault if he saw everything—boxing, poker, politics, life itself—as a game to be won at all costs, using whatever means were handy.”

After graduating from Marquette McCarthy set up a law office in Waupaca, handled only four cases in nine months, but paid the rent with poker winnings. He joined every organization in sight and was soon elected president of the Young Democratic Federation of the seventh congressional district. As weak as the Democrats were in this area, this position gave him credibility as a candidate for district attorney of Shawano County in 1936. Identifying strongly with Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal, McCarthy eventually finished second to a LaFollette Progressive, ahead of the Republican nominee. During the campaign he developed into “the greatest handshaker that Shawano had ever seen, even shaking close friends' hands when he met them on the street.” Three years later, now thirty years old, McCarthy sought the circuit judgeship of Wisconsin's tenth judicial district, running against twenty-four year incumbent Edgar Werner. Implying that Werner had earned retirement, McCarthy sent out thousands of postcards listing Werner's year of birth as 1866 (instead of the correct 1873) and often spoke respectfully of his “seventy-three year old opponent's faithful service” (Werner was sixty-six), giving the impression that Judge Werner was simply too old to handle the duties of his office for another term. McCarthy campaigned in the classic door-to-door style, often finding



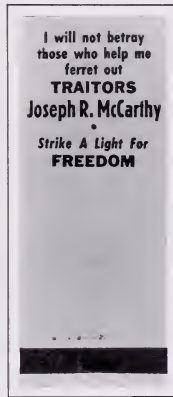
“TAIL-GUNNER JOE” Postcard

"Tail-Gunner Joe" continued

through the Pacific. He and millions of other guys kept YOU from talking Japanese. TODAY JOE McCARTHY IS HOME. He wants to SERVE America in the SENATE. Yes, folks. CONGRESS NEEDS A TAIL GUNNER... AMERICA NEEDS FIGHTING MEN."

Just before primary day a half million postcards pictured McCarthy sitting in an airplane behind a machine gun. A narrow margin of 5,396 votes sent LaFollette into retirement and McCarthy into an anticlimactic general election race against Democrat Howard McMurray, whom he buried in a 620,430-378,772 landslide.

McCarthy enjoyed his first three years in the Senate but accomplished nothing that would assure his re-election.* In 1949 he embarked upon a crusade to spare some German SS troops under sentence of death for shooting unarmed American prisoners at the Battle of the Bulge. Under the impression that this would be popular among Wisconsin's large German-American population, he charged that the Nazi soldiers had not received fair trials. His efforts were rewarded with yawns in Wisconsin and a Senate investigation that found McCarthy's charges groundless. He then dropped the issue and began to beat the "twenty years of treason" drum that would earn him his unsavory niche in our



history books. Charging that various areas of the federal governments were infested with Communists (or at the very least "fellow travelers"), McCarthy gained even more publicity than he had imagined possible. He would level charges of disloyalty against a particular department but never offer proof; when the publicity began to wane he would make other charges against other departments. He never finished an investigation, but ruined the reputations and careers of countless innocent public servants through his charges. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1952, although he ran well behind the rest of the Republican ticket in Wisconsin that year. In 1954 he went too far by charging that the Department of the Army was a hotbed of subversion! During a summer of televised hearings he bullied and postured while Army attorney Bernard Welch countered with withering sarcasm. Influenced by a devastating broadcast by Edward R. Murrow, public opinion rapidly turned against McCarthy. His Senate colleagues, almost all of whom had kept silent rather than risk his attacks, began to find their consciences and their tongues. On December 2, 1954, he was officially condemned by the Senate. After that he declined rapidly in influence and in health. He died on May 2, 1957, and was buried in Appleton, Wisconsin. Each year his grave is the site of a memorial service conducted by old friends and members of the political right. ★

ALPIC Yesterday and Today

By Barry Nelson, ALPIC President

As the oldest and largest of APIC's specialty chapters, the American Locals Political Items Collectors has been one of the most active and successful. With over 100 members, an informative and interesting newsletter and special projects, such as picturing the buttons of U.S. Senate and gubernatorial candidates for 1976, 1978 and 1980, ALPIC strives to give its members the best value for their five dollar membership dues.

The establishment of the American Local Items Collectors came as a result of the interest of many APIC members in collecting buttons of local candidates as well as presidentials. Enthusiasm for locals had been evidenced by the great response to Willard Smith's first locals sales lists and his first issue of *Grassroots*, a newsletter devoted to locals, distributed in April 1974.

Soon after, Joe Witek and other APIC members urged Willard Smith to form a club for local collectors. With the encouragement of APIC President Larry Krug, an application carrying the names of seventeen members from eleven states was submitted on September 17, 1974, to regional Vice President Herb Loomis. The application was approved in October, 1974, and ALPIC became the first recognized specialty chapter in APIC.

In December 1974, members began formal organization of the new group. A constitution committee, chaired by Jim Weling, was named by a vote of the membership. Officers were elected: President—Willard Smith; Vice President—David Quintin; Secretary—Tom Eversen; and Treasurer—Gerry Cortell. An historic milestone for the club was March 1975, when issue

number one of the *ALPIC Newsletter* was mailed to members.

The first roster of members was mailed with the March, 1970, newsletter and contained forty-three names. In January, 1977, all of the original officers declined to run and a new slate of officers was presented to the membership. Elected were: President—A. Preston Malcom; Vice President—William Cleveland; Secretary-Treasurer—Bert Thompson; and Newsletter Editor—Thomas Whalen.

In December, 1978, the incumbent office holders for president, secretary-treasurer and newsletter were returned to office. David Quintin was selected Vice President to succeed the retiring William Cleveland. In April 1979, the first ALPIC Handbook and Roster was issued, with the second mailed in May 1980.

The current ALPIC officers were elected in December 1980: President—Barry Nelson; Vice President—Joe Witek; Secretary-Treasurer—William Wegman; and Newsletter Editor—Tom Plante. The 1980 Governor and U.S. Senate candidates project issued in July 1981, under the direction of David Quintin, is perhaps the most attractive and complete picturing of buttons the club has ever done so far.

The *ALPIC Newsletter* continues to be issued regularly and contains helpful lists of candidates and pictures of buttons of local candidates, plus club news and feature articles. We encourage any APIC member with an interest in locals to join us. Dues are \$5.00 annually and membership applications may be obtained from William Wegman, Public Defenders Office, Suite 401, Court House, Waterloo, Iowa 50701. ★

New York's Fusion Mayors

by William H. Honan

"My re-election as Mayor would mean just this: The patronage of the city shall not be used by or for any party." Thus spoke the Mayor of New York, asking for a second term.

No, it wasn't Edward I. Koch. It wasn't Fiorello H. La Guardia, either. It was Seth Low, the portly civic idealist who became the city's first "fusion" mayor in 1901.

With his re-election . . . as the candidate of both the Republican and Democratic parties, Mr. Koch, a life-long Democrat, joined the slender ranks of New York's fusion mayors—mavericks all, who have added some of the most colorful threads to the patchwork of the city's political history and promoted the radical idea that, while two-party competition may be the foundation of the Federal and state governments, it is about as healthy for municipalities as the plague.

Fusion, the coalition of political parties in support of a nonpartisan candidate, has curious roots in New York. There is, for example, evidence that La Guardia, the third fusion mayor, was not merely influenced by one of his predecessors, but neurotically obsessed by him. And as the history of the movement reveals, Mayor Koch sought its alchemy for a decidedly different reason than the others.

"I would like to have fusion support," he has said, "not because I need it, but to change the nature of what we are doing." With bipartisan backing, he contended, his hand would be strengthened in Washington and Albany, despite both Federal retrenchment and a potentially tempestuous gubernatorial campaign. His critics may remain dubious, but the voters seemed persuaded, giving him a landslide unmatched by any other New York mayor, fusion or otherwise.

Seth Low, the son of a wealthy Brooklyn clipper ship operator who went into politics toward the end of the last century "to put municipal government on a sound business footing," was not exactly what a cigar-chomping political boss of that era would call electoral dynamite. "A man of good girth and robust port," Low had a quirk which under normal circumstances would seem fatal for a politician—he was unable to laugh aloud. When amused, he would throw back his head and shake in paroxysms, emitting not a sound.

Nevertheless, in the mayoral election of 1901 Low was the candidate of the reform-minded Citizens' Union, and reform sounded good to New Yorkers, who had just heard Tammany boss Richard Croker make the startling admission that he had been "working for my pocket all the time."

Furthermore, Low espoused an idea. Municipal government, he said, ought to be divorced from party politics. It was not merely that there wasn't any Republican or Democratic way to sweep the city streets, as La Guardia later put it, but that party loyalty interfered with the efficient operation of municipal government.

Commissionerships and other important jobs, Low asserted, should be given to those best qualified, not those with the longest and most faithful service to the party. Officeholders should be held accountable on the basis of their performance, not their party connections and loyalty. These were revolutionary ideas at the turn of the century—so radical, in fact, that the state Republican boss, Thomas C. Platt, disavowed Low, a fellow

Republican, and declared his "sincerest and profoundest contempt" for the philosophy of fusion.

But the voters put aside their traditional party loyalties, if only temporarily, and elected Low on the Citizens' Union ticket. Uncharismatic fellow that he was, he lasted in office only one term.

New York's second fusion mayor was elected in 1913—again after scandal had discredited Tammany Hall. The year before, the proprietor of several illegal gambling dens in the Tenderloin district (now known as Times Square) was shot to death by four gunmen outside the Metropole Hotel.

An investigation revealed that the murder had been ordered by a vice-squad lieutenant named Becker, because the gambler had refused to pay protection money. Corruption was found to be widespread in the Police Department.

Becker and his hit men were electrocuted at Sing Sing, and New Yorkers once again pitched out Tammany Hall and elected John Purroy Mitchel, a handsome, young anti-Tammany Democrat



who ran as a fusionist. In some quarters, the 33-year-old Mayor was labeled a playboy but, in general, Mitchel's administration, which was modeled after Seth Low's, earned high praise. Fusion might even have endured had it not been for the entry of the United States into the First World War during the final year of Mitchel's term. A queasy public was then in no mood for experiment, and promptly returned to what it knew best—Tammany Hall.

As for Mitchel, he pulled strings to get into the Army Air Service and, although 37, became a pilot. A daredevil at heart, he made a practice of not buckling his safety belt. One July morning in 1918, on a training flight in Louisiana, Mitchel's single-seater suddenly hit a down-draft and the former Mayor of New York was pitched out of the cockpit and fell about 600 feet to his death. Mitchel Field on Long Island was named after him, and his gilded memorial bust still stands in Central Park at Fifth Avenue and



All items shown 60% of actual size

90th Street.

The impassioned espousal of fusion by Fiorello La Guardia—the feisty, five-foot-two-inch vaudevillian who served as the city's third fusion mayor between 1934 and 1945—is usually explained several ways. As a Republican running for election in a city in which Democrats outnumbered them by almost four to one, he was obliged to obscure his party identification.

Then, too, Tammany was once again vulnerable. Amid series of scandals, Mayor “Jimmy” Walker, the elegant and once-cocky songwriter, had abdicated his office in shame.

But what has not been commented upon, and what seems to have been a strong if unconscious force behind La Guardia's conversion to the doctrine of nonpartisanship, was his deep but oddly conflicted obsession with Mitchel.

During Mitchel's campaign of 1913, La Guardia not only refused to participate in the fusion movement, but actually upbraided his own party for officially joining it. La Guardia came to know Mitchel after the election, but they remained distant.

When Mitchel died, La Guardia was in Rome, serving as second in command of the American aviation unit in Italy. Hearing the news, he turned pale, then suddenly launched into a diatribe against over-age pilots. This was strange, since La Guardia, having just qualified as a pilot himself, was then 36, only one year younger than Mitchel.

Less than a year later, on a training flight, La Guardia's plane, like Mitchel's, hit a down-draft and crashed. He was hospitalized for three weeks and, according to his autobiography, had been nearly killed for doing precisely what Mitchel failed to do.

“Fortunately, my safety belt broke as I crashed,” he wrote, “and that saved me from being crushed under the motor.” La Guardia's fascination with Mitchel intensified as the years went by. After he was elected Mayor, his speeches rang with Mitchel's name. He once declared that “Mayor Mitchel is to efficient

municipal government what the Wright brothers are to aviation.”

Three weeks after poor health had compelled La Guardia to announce his retirement, he made the last of his many pilgrimages to the Mitchel memorial in Central Park and movingly urged whoever his successor might be “to vow to follow the ideals of John Purroy Mitchel.”

Perhaps Mitchel's death, along with the trauma of La Guardia's strikingly similar plane crash, fixed his attention obsessively on Mitchel and drew La Guardia to identify with him—even to the point of espousing the same political philosophy.

In any event, La Guardia won the 1933 mayoralty running on the Republican and City Fusion Party tickets. “I am not fighting the Democratic Party,” he told a group of Democrats, “I am fighting a vicious system.”

When he ran for re-election in 1937, he was endorsed by the newly-formed American Labor Party, which had been created by New Deal Democrats and New York Socialists. This was fusion in its truest sense. Most of the labels La Guardia employed for himself were manufactured, inviting voters to discard their traditional political loyalties. “I could run on a laundry ticket,” he liked to say.

The next fusionist to come along was John V. Lindsay, the Republican Congressman who was elected in 1965 running on both the Republican and Liberal Party tickets. The Liberal endorsement that year was crucial to his victory because it gave traditional Democrats a line on which to vote for him without causing their ancestors to rise up from their graves in indignation.

When he ran for re-election four years later, he was defeated in a Republican primary, but the Liberals stuck with him, giving him a narrow victory in a three-way race. This was a personal triumph, and Mayor Lindsay was recognized, like his fusion predecessors, as a candidate who operated outside the mainstream of party politics.

It is in the matter of party affiliation that Mayor Koch's fusion differs from the others. On Sept. 22, he became the first mayoral candidate to be nominated by both major political parties. He is therefore the first fusionist who did not depend on a coalition to be elected. Why, then, has he sought such support? Is it simply a desire, known to many politicians, to be loved by *everyone*?

The Mayor vehemently denied this. “It's not a personal thing for me,” he said. “It was *very* personal with the other fusionists. They couldn't get elected without it. Without the American Labor Party endorsement, La Guardia couldn't win. But that's not the case with me.”

Rather than help him win a second term, Mayor Koch contends that fusion is designed to aid him over the next four years.

“I have done this to strengthen my hand in dealing with Albany and Washington, whose help the city needs,” he said. “In Albany, about one-third of the people I must deal with are Republicans. In Washington, it's the reverse—two thirds are Republicans. If I can go to Albany and Washington with a Republican as well as a Democratic endorsement, I believe I'll have greater call on those Republicans.”

This does not mean, he insisted, that he intends to give up his position as leader of the city's Democrats. “I haven't broken with my party,” he said. “I'm a Democrat endorsed by the Republicans. But I'm a registered Democrat who will never leave the party.”

Nor does he feel that as the candidate of both the Republicans and Democrats, he has undermined the two-party system and thus compromised one of the essential checks and balances of government.

“We *have* a two-party system,” he said. “I haven't been given

(continued on page 27)

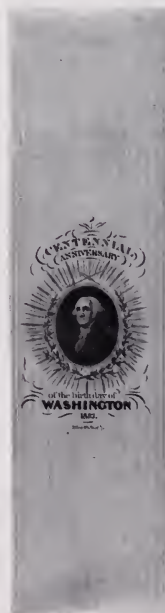
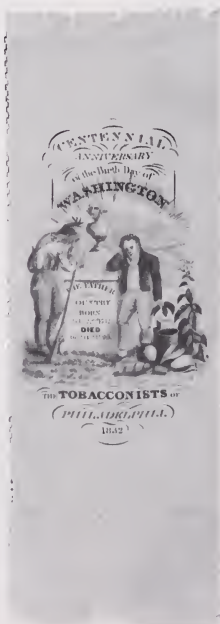
Early Historical Ribbons

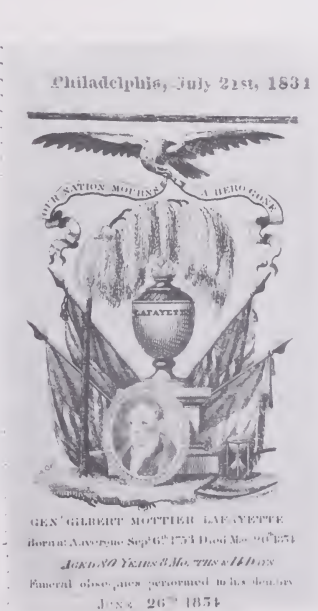
By Roger Fischer

Many political collectors do not limit their interests to items generated by campaigns for elective office. In addition to such non-campaign pieces as inaugural, cause, and satiric post-election objects, many collectors treasure the material culture inspired by the great historic events and major national celebrations that have from time to time captured the public imagination sufficiently to have left in their wakes significant quantities of souvenir memorabilia. From the Liverpool transferware of the Revolution and War of 1812 (and vast array of "Hero of New Orleans" Andrew Jackson mementos often mistakenly attributed to his political campaigns) through the "JAP HUNTING LICENSE" and "TO HELL WITH HITLER" buttons of World War II, a succession of American military adventures provided bountiful collecting opportunities for later generations of collectors, as did the peacetime exploits of such heroes as "Lucky" Lindbergh. In a similar manner, such national milestones as the 1876 centennial and 1976 bicentennial have also inspired virtually infinite arrays of collectible materials.

In many instances, souvenir memorabilia produced because of such events and celebrations have been the forerunners of campaign items. This would appear to have been the case in the development of silk campaign ribbons. In our survey for a

forthcoming volume on these items, the earliest specimens Ed Sullivan and I have been able to date with certainty are a pair of 1832 Andrew Jackson ribbons, one a textile version of a paper electoral ticket and the other a Philadelphia ribbon that read "Jackson, Sutherland, DEMOCRACY, AND NO BANK/EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL LEGAL VOTERS." Yet before the voters went to the polls in 1832, many non-campaign occasions inspired silk ribbons. The return of the Marquis de Lafayette to the United States in 1824 for a triumphant tour inspired a host of different ribbons (as did services in this country mourning his death a decade later). Many ribbons were inspired by three events on July 4, 1826, the celebration of our fiftieth anniversary as a free republic and the eerily simultaneous deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson fifty years to the day from their drafting (with Benjamin Franklin) of the Declaration of Independence. The centennial of the birth of George Washington in 1832 also inspired some superb silk ribbons, a few of which are shown here. Washington continued to appear on silk ribbons created by the Whigs in 1834 and 1837 and by the Washingtonian temperance organization in the 1840's, as well as on many embroidered varieties produced for the 1876 centennial celebration. ★





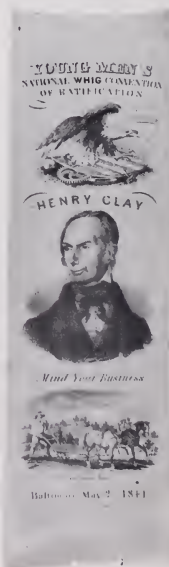
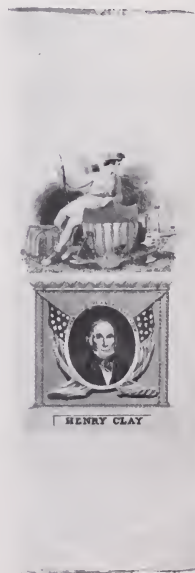
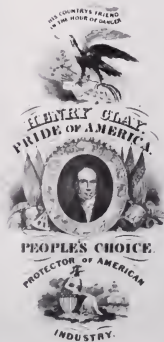
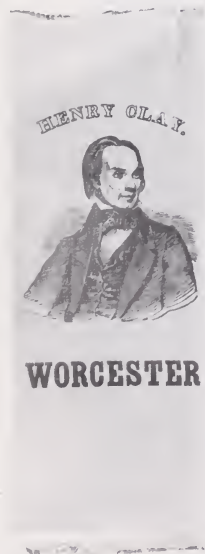
UPDATES

In this section, *The Keynoter* will picture additional items for candidates featured in recent issues. These will usually be items previously unpictured, and continue a basic function of *The Keynoter* to act as the historical record for the hobby.

John Breckinridge was featured in the Winter 1979 issue. Henry Clay was featured in the Fall 1980 issue.



Campaign Flag—Obverse and Reverse



Items of Interest: Unusual Roosevelt-Fairbanks Jugate Found

One reason this hobby never loses its excitement is that previously unknown major pieces continue to surface. A prime example is this attractive, clever Roosevelt-Fairbanks jugate. As is true with many new discoveries, this button was made (or ordered) by a small printing company in an out-of-the-mainstream location, Pueblo, Colorado. Experience indicates that it was probably manufactured in limited quantity with only local circulation.

The button is 1 1/4" tinted multicolor, and contains several interesting slogans not in general campaign use. Above the picture is a reference to "Our Next Presidents," an unusual use of the plural form. Directly above the heads is "The Short and Long of It." But the most unique aspect of the button is its pictorial depiction of the candidates' names. Roosevelt, in which "velt" (or "veldt" as it was originally spelled) translates as "field," is illustrated by a field of roses, while Fairbanks is illustrated by a pastoral river scene with lush (fair) banks. ★



BRUMMAGEM: A Showy but Worthless Thing

Recent Fakes and Reproductions

By Neal Machander

Two groups of brummagem items have appeared in the last year at flea markets and antique shows on both coasts. First came a group of decals, 4 1/4" X 2 1/4". These three (there may be others) are red, white and blue, and should be easy to detect on the original paper because the manufacturer's name and address appear on the reverse—with zip code. Zip codes weren't used until 1963, well after the campaigns mentioned. However, you should be particularly aware of these designs, as they would be difficult to recognize as fantasy pieces if they were soaked off the

paper and applied to old glasses, bottles or paperweights, etc., since there are many genuine decals from this same pre-war period. These items are in violation of the Hobby Protection Act, and have been referred to the Federal Trade Commission.

The second group of items were made by Bastian Brothers (Rochester, N.Y.), a major manufacturer. The buttons are clearly marked on the lower curl "Reproduction 1980" in compliance with the Hobby Protection Act. They are celluloid reproductions of common 1940 Roosevelt items and a Willkie item. Colors and sizes are the same as the originals, and are noted below each button. ★



1 3/4" Browntone



7/8" RWB



7/8" RWB



7/8" RWB



1 1/4" Blue/
Lt. Green

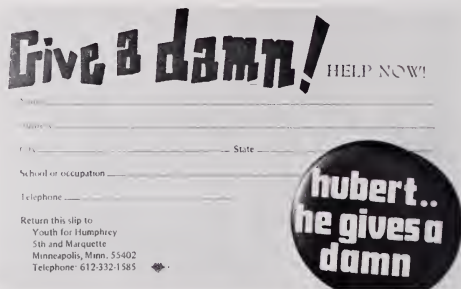


2 1/4" RWB

Items of Interest: New 1970 Humphrey Senate Button Discovered

At a recent meeting of the North Star APIC chapter in St. Paul, a young man brought a number of Hubert Humphrey items to sell, including a 2 1/4" white on black celluloid that read "hubert...he gives a damn." According to him, this button had been made in very small quantity for a "Youth for Humphrey" group during the 1970 campaign that brought him back to the Senate by a comfortable margin over veteran Republican congressman Clark MacGregor. It proved easy to verify that this was indeed a 1970 button, for I already had in my collection a matching 1970 "Give a damn!" card issued by this same group. It is also virtually certain that the source was correct in stating that this button had been produced in very limited numbers, as this appears to be the only specimen in the hands of political collectors. ★

—Roger Fischer



Books In The Hobby

Edward L. Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, *Political Parties and Civic Action Groups* (Greenwood Press, Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881, 1981), 550 pages, \$49.50.

For years there has been a great void in the writings of political scientists and historians regarding the background of minor political parties and cause or civic action movements. While individual books and articles have been written, there was nowhere to turn for brief overviews of such obscure groups as the America Best Consensus or the Tax Cut party. In this volume the brothers Schapsmeier (professors of history at Illinois State University and the University of Wisconsin—Oshkosh who previously collaborated on the *Encyclopedia of American Agricultural History*, Walter Lippman: *Philosophical Journalist*, and the two-volume biography *Henry A. Wallace of Iowa*) examine approximately one hundred different parties and movements, ranging from the Republicans and Democrats to some of the so-called "lunatic fringe" splinter groups. In its 550 pages we meet such intriguing and diverse characters as Father James Cox, George Lincoln Rockwell, Ralph Nader, Frances Willard, Belva Lockwood, Samuel Adams, Malcolm X, Theodore Roosevelt, Richard Daley, and Thaddeus Stevens. Political action groups run the spectrum from the Committees of Correspondence to Common Cause, from the Essex Junto to the Moral Majority. Like the danger inherent in going fishing, in putting together such a comprehensive book there will always be "the one that got away." The Schapsmeiers have not included every individual who ever sought the presidency nor every cause group that ever existed, but they have come very close.

This volume has several features which make it indispensable to the collector of political artifacts. It not only deals with political parties major and obscure but also with the various cause movements and single-issue groups organized throughout our history. Agricultural and rural organizations, civil rights groups, reform societies, labor organizations, business federations and lobbies, patriotic societies, women's and youth organizations, veterans' and peace groups, and other federations, leagues,

councils, institutes, foundations, and lobbies are included. In many cases the authors have included suggestions for further information, a helpful feature for anyone researching an obscure organization. Another helpful feature is a chronological appendix beginning with the Sons of Liberty in 1765. Although it does not relate directly to campaign items and has no illustrations, *Political Parties and Civic Action Groups* belongs on the shelf of every serious political collector. It is worth \$49.50 in value as a research tool. ★

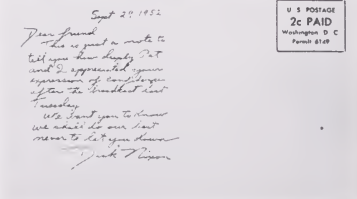
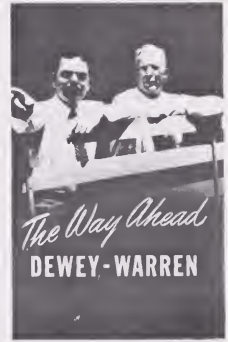
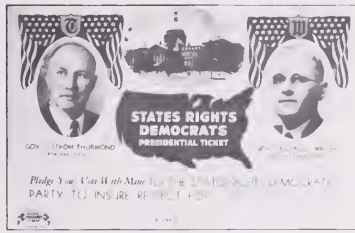
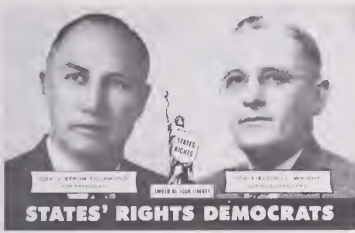
—Elmer Koppelman

James R. Kotche, John B. Anderson: *Congressman and Presidential Candidate* (by the author, 3410 High Crest Road, Rockford, IL 61107, 1981), 156 pages, \$13.95

A student of history, enthusiastic collector of political Americana, and a neighbor and longtime supporter of John Anderson, this volume was something of a labor of love for APIC member Jim Kotche. In no sense a biography of Anderson or a narrative history of his campaigns, the volume instead attempts to picture the various items produced for his 1980 presidential campaign and ten previous congressional races, including buttons, bumperstickers, brochures, action kits, ads, flyers, posters, lawn signs, position papers, stationery, T-shirts, hats, key chains, frisbees, balloons, and assorted 3-D objects. Although a long section copying the Anderson-Lucey platform from the *Congressional Record* repeated material contained in the position papers, the bulk of the material included by Jim will prove interesting and helpful to collectors and to students of Anderson's role in the 1980 election. Published in a rather crisp softcover edition with xerographic illustrations and typescript (to keep costs to a realistic level for a small run), Kotche has performed a real service for collectors. He has been very thorough. Included are nearly every button and other material object known to collectors and a wealth of paper items often ignored by collectors but very important to students of the political process. ★

—Roger Fischer

APIC Postcard Project: From Truman to Kennedy



Face and reverse of preprinted personalized postcard used by Nixon after "Checkers" speech in 1952.



APIC Project 1980

by Joe Wasserman

Help! To successfully complete Project '80 we need your help. Please send buttons with any information you have on the number made, area of circulation, any collector involvement and other details of which you are aware. ALL ITEMS WILL BE RETURNED. Send to: Joe Wasserman, P.O. Box 923, College Park, Maryland 20740.

EDITOR'S NOTES: Several lines of type were accidentally deleted from the description of 80/363. The description should have read:

"80/363. This 3" blue, white, yellow and black item was made by Patrick Hill and Richard Caliendo for Kansans for Reagan, by Pol-Ad Productions, Clayton, Mo. Note: There is also a 3" yellow and brown button with Reagan's picture in a map of Kansas that was manufactured by Morgan Williams. According to Patrick Hill, whose name appears on the disclaimer, he did not authorize the item or the use of his name."

Additional information and corrections on previously listed items:

80/362. Patrick Hill and Richard Caliendo made the black and white photo version of this item, which was sold at the Kansas Republican Convention; the excess was sold to Steve Elkins, who sold them at the Missouri Republican Convention. Hill and Caliendo then made the color version, which was sold in Detroit.

80/220, 80/221 and 80/222. Descriptions were reversed. 80/220 is green, black and white and appears in 1 1/4" and 2 1/4" celluloid and 2" lithograph. 80/221 is 1 1/4" green and white; and 80/222 is 1 1/4" blue and white.

80/386. The colors of this 1 1/4" X 2 3/4" oval are red on light grey, the colors of Ohio State University. A stylized buckeye, state symbol of Ohio, appears on the "O" in 80.

80/429. A souvenir "Messenger" badge was also available.

80/380. "Glenn Wire Weber" is actually three people. Weber is Prosecuting Attorney for Madison County, Illinois.

80/415. Seven hundred of this button were ordered by the Niles Township Republican Board for a March 16, 1981 dinner; remainder were given out at a 49th Ward Republican dinner on the 17th.

DESCRIPTIONS

80/432. N. G. Slater vendor item; 3 1/2" red, white, blue and black.

80/433. This blue and white plastic badge was used in central Texas during the fall campaign.

80/434. Part of the Columbia Advertising official series of blue and white 2 1/4" buttons.

80/435. This 2 1/4" red, white and blue celluloid was made by APIC member Richard Ryan, who was head of a Youth for Reagan group in Oklahoma. 100 were reportedly made by Coops (Oklahoma City), which uses the Badge-A-Minit button process, and were sold in Oklahoma prior to the convention. They were also used at the convention by members of Ryan's youth group



80/432



80/433



80/434



80/435



80/436



80/437



80/438



80/439



80/440



80/441



80/442



80/443



80/444



80/445



80/446



80/447



80/448



80/449



80/450



80/451



80/452



80/453



80/454



80/455



80/456



80/457



80/458



80/459



80/460



80/461



80/462



80/463



80/464



80/465



80/466



80/467

and sold for extremely high prices.

80/436. Shortly after the Detroit convention, the Republican National Committee made this 2 1/4" red, white and blue celluloid and used it in New Jersey for a limited time. It was later replaced with a 2 1/4" blue and white lithograph made as part of a set by Columbia Advertising Co.

80/437. This 2 1/4" white on red celluloid was made by a pro-life group in the midwest and used during midwestern primaries. Several pro-life delegates were seen wearing them at the convention.

80/438. 2 1/4" white on blue Reagan coattail. Mary Estil Buchanan, current Colorado Secretary of State, lost to Senator Gary Hart.

80/439. 2 1/4" blue and white celluloid used in northern New Jersey during the fall campaign.

80/440 thru 80/442. These three celluloids are all 2 1/4" blue and white with Badge-a-Minit style backs and were sold by Tennessee Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) in Knoxville, October 1980.

80/443. This scarce 2 1/4" blue and white coattail from Tennessee was sold at a Tennessee YAF table in Knoxville, October 1980.

80/444. This item was used during the North Carolina primary at a fundraising dinner. Button is available in red on white and blue on white; 1 3/4".

80/445. Manufactured by an independent Reagan committee, this 2 1/2" blue and white celluloid was used during the primary campaign and later available at the Republican National Convention. Also exists in red and white.

80/446. This 1 3/4" red, white, blue and black celluloid was distributed in New Jersey during the campaign; pictures are out of focus on all that have been seen. Although the origin is unknown, APIC member Ed Stahl purchased a small number of them at a flea market in N. J.

80/447. 1 3/4" red, white and blue celluloid produced by an alternate delegate from California. It was originally used in the California primary and leftovers were brought to the convention where they sold and traded for about fifty cents apiece.

80/448. This 1 3/4" blue on yellow celluloid was issued by the Young Republicans and available in Washington, DC.

80/449. This 1 3/4" red, green, black and white pin was made by Joy Products and sold at the New York City Columbus Day Parade.

80/450. A 1 1/2" red, white and blue lithograph, this Wisconsin button also came in 1 1/4" celluloid. Issued by the Wisconsin Reagan for President Committee.

80/451. This 1 3/4" red, white and black celluloid was made by the Young Republicans shortly after the convention. Very few were available from the national office and most were distributed in central Pennsylvania.

80/452. N. G. Slater vendor item; 1 1/2" red, white and blue.

80/453. Although Reagan experts believe this 1 3/4" blue on white California item is from the 1976 campaign, some were sold and traded in 1980 in Detroit.

80/454. Attractive red, white, blue and black 3" jugate. Also appears in an inaugural version (80/308). Celluloid was made by N. Y. Badge Co., designed by Millenium Group.

80/455. 3" red, white and blue with matte finish, produced by the Iowa Republican Party to identify Republican State Convention delegates; produced in large quantity and not difficult to obtain.

80/456. This 2 1/4" inaugural medallion was made by Fund for a Conservative Majority (see 80/60), the largest of the independent PACs to support Ronald Reagan, and was given to those who contributed \$25.00 or more to their efforts. This very unusual medal may be the only one ever issued by an "official" but independent political action committee.

80/457. Called the "Conehead" Reagan, this scarce 3" red, white and blue celluloid was originally distributed to Indiana campaign workers and then withdrawn from circulation in favor of a more flattering picture. Made by Button Graphics, Indianapolis.

80/458. Ordered from Frank Enten's PC Button Co. by the Fund for a Conservative Majority, an independent PAC. Two thousand were ordered for use in blue collar areas of Detroit during the Republican National Convention, but the items did not get to Detroit in time, and were used during the general campaign.

80/459. 1 3/4" red, white and blue lithograph sold by Young Americans for Freedom at the Republican National Convention.

80/460. 1 1/2" red and white lithograph, circulated in Ohio.

80/461. 1 1/4" red, white and blue celluloid was produced by a woman from Alton, Illinois, sold cheaply during the primary and at the convention.

80/462. This item appeared late in the primary campaign and was used at the Republican National Convention in Detroit. 1 1/2" blue and white celluloid.

80/463. 1" red, white and blue celluloid used in parts of Ohio during the primary campaign.

80/464. 1" blue and white celluloid; issued by Pennsylvania Reagan Committee for use in small sections of central PA during the primary.

80/465. 1 1/2" blue and white vendor item sold in N. Y. at the Democratic National Convention.



80/468



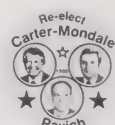
80/469



80/470



80/471



80/472



80/473



80/474

QUEENS
LOVES
CARTER

80/482



80/475



80/476



80/477



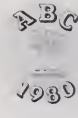
80/478



80/479



80/480



80/481



80/483



80/484



80/485



80/486



80/487



80/488



80/489



80/490

80/466 and 80/467. These blue on white 1 1/4" celluloids were marketed by a Minneapolis company that also made T-shirts and bumperstickers with this slogan. Some were sold by vendors on the Minneapolis campus of the University of Minnesota.

80/468. This 2 1/4" green, white and black top quality badge-a-minut was manufactured by a small Montana company used by Carter forces during the primary.

80/469. One of the rarest 1980 Carter items, this 2 1/4" mustard and black button was given out to persons attending a special fundraiser in conjunction with the Willie Nelson concert for Carter, October 12, 1980.

80/470. A 1976 design, this 2 1/4" green, white and black button was sold at the Democratic National Convention and for general use during the campaign.

80/471. One of the earliest items in the re-election effort, this 2 1/4" green, white and black celluloid was made by Carter's Georgia supporters in Atlanta, 1978.

80/472. Sold in the Council Bluffs, Iowa, Democratic Headquarters for \$1.00, this 2 1/4" black on light green celluloid trigate features Emil Pavich, who won re-election to his seat in the Iowa state senate.

80/473. 2 1/8" green, white and black N. G. Slater vendor item.

80/474. 2 1/8" green, white and black N. G. Slater vendor item.

80/475. 2 1/2" black and white celluloid sold at the Virginia Republican State Convention.

80/476. Ordered by Senior Citizens for Carter in New York City, this 1 1/4" green and white celluloid was distributed state-wide in NY.

80/477. 1 1/4" green and white button was ordered originally by the Manhattan Carter Headquarters, and was used in various parts of the state during the campaign. APIC member Trudy Mason was Carter's Manhattan (New York County) campaign coordinator and ordered buttons for the Manhattan headquarters.

80/478. 1 1/2" red, white and blue N. G. Slater vendor item.

80/479. 1 1/4" green, black and white N. G. Slater vendor item.

80/490. 1 1/4" red, white and blue N. G. Slater vendor item.

80/481. This 1 1/4" green, yellow and white button was ordered by the national Carter campaign prior to the Democratic National Convention; ABC stands for "ALL BACK CARTER." Very limited distribution.



80/491



80/492



80/493



80/495



80/494



80/496



80/497

80/482. This clever T-shirt shaped plastic key ring, 2 1/2" X 2 1/4" black on white (reverse: I love NY, red, black and white), was given out by Donald Manes in early 1980 at a campaign reception for V. P. Mondale. Manes, Queens Borough President and County Democratic Chairman, was Carter's downstate campaign manager.

80/483. This 1 1/2" blue and white celluloid was made by Columbia Advertising N. Y. and was issued for the primary by the Kings County Democratic Organization. Distributed at a Brooklyn rally.

80/484. This 1 1/8" green and white lithograph was circulated widely.

30/485 Green on white, 1 1/2" coattail linking Liz Holtzman for Senate with Carter; circulated in very small numbers in Queens, N. Y.

80/486 N. G. Slater vendor item; 1 1/2" green, red and white.

80/487. 1 1/2" red, white and black celluloid made in upstate New York and distributed to delegates at the Democratic Convention.



80/498



80/499



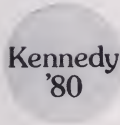
80/500



80/501



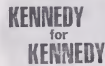
80/502



80/503



80/504



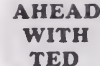
80/505



80/506



80/507



80/508



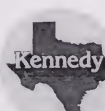
80/509



80/510



80/511



80/512



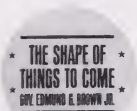
80/513



80/514



80/515



80/516

80/488. 1½" white on green celluloid; N. G. Slater vendor item later used by the NYC Carter campaign.

80/489. This poorly made esoteric 1½" green on white item was put out unofficially by Carter supporters in New York City; LOTE stands for "Lesser of Two Evils." It received very limited distribution.

80/490. This 1½" multi-color celluloid was made by N. G. Slater for one of the many groups protesting at the Democratic National Convention.

80/491. 3½" red, white and blue celluloid. Although the picture is the same as 80/492, the wording is different.

80/492. 1½" red, white and blue N. G. Slater vendor item. See notes for 80/491.

80/493. 3½" red, white and blue celluloid. Although the slogan is the same, the picture is different from 80/494.

80/494. 1½" red, white and blue celluloid. See notes for 80/493.

80/495. Black, green, and yellow 3" button made by Pol-Ad, Clayton, Missouri for Michael Sawyer, President of Young Democrats of Missouri. There are three versions, Delegate, Alternate, and Supporter (shown), which were sold at the first Missouri caucus. The alternate did not sell well and seems to be the most available.

80/496. This 1¾" green and black celluloid was used at the anti-draft rally in Washington, D.C. in Spring, 1980. The button was later used at the Democratic National Convention.

80/497. This 3" green and white celluloid was made in very limited quantity by a group of New York City social workers for the general election. Most of the buttons, were distributed at a social workers campaign rally late in the campaign.

80/498. 3½" green, black and white N. G. Slater vendor item.

80/499. 3½" green, white and black N. G. Slater vendor item.

80/500. 3½" green, white and black N. G. Slater vendor item.

80/501 and 80/502. This pair of 3" red, white and blue celluloids



80/517



80/518



80/519



80/520



80/521



80/522

were made by Buttons & Badges (Alexandria, Virginia) for Louisiana Kennedy supporters going to the Democratic National Convention.

80/503. Made by Kennedy workers in Baltimore, Md., this 2¼" blue on white button-machine celluloid was distributed at campaign functions in Maryland and Washington, D.C.

80/504. This 2¼" red, white and blue celluloid was used in Iowa for caucuses in January 1980. Also available is a matching poster.

80/505. A 2½" black on light blue button-machine celluloid, only about thirty of this item were made by Kennedy delegate Ronald Kennedy of Munnsville, New York, and used in his successful bid to be elected a national delegate from the 32nd district of New York.

80/506. 1¼" blue, white and red celluloid used in Oregon as an exploratory item in 1979.

(continued on page 27)



NEWS

BY-LAWS AMENDMENT BALLOT ENCLOSED-PLEASE VOTE

APIC IN BLACK FOR 1981

For the first time since 1977, the APIC ended the year without a deficit. A combination of stringent cash management and the continuing success of APIC's national recruitment efforts has put the organization in its best financial condition in many years. "Getting us here was half the battle," said Secretary-Treasurer Joe Hayes, "strengthening our financial base for the future is the other half."

American Political Items Collectors INCORPORATED 1974	
PRESIDENT Robert A. Taylor 2322 20th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009	SECRETARY-TREASURER Joseph D. Hayes 1054 Shapellway Dr. Huntsville, Alabama 35893
1981 APIC FINANCIAL STATEMENT	
January 1, 1981, Cash Balance (Includes \$8,526.60 in 1981 dues rec'd in 1980)	\$ 5,355.64
Income:	
1981 Dues Income	25,755.87
Mailing Supply Service Income	1,737.45
Miscellaneous Income	748.90
Interest Income	1,134.03
National Convention Income	650.00
1982 Dues Income	476.50
	<u>\$0,502.70</u>
	\$35,558.34
Expenditures:	
Keynoter/Editor Expense	126.70
Mailing Supply Service Expense	336.70
Miscellaneous Expenses	739.15
1981 National Convention Advance	500.00
1981 National Convention Expenses	318.30
Hall of Fame Plaques	223.50
1981 National Convention Advance	500.00
1981 Roster Preparation Expense	400.00
Office Expense	786.46
Keynoter Misc. Expenses	787.31
Photographic Expenses	919.36
Postage Expense	4,291.19
Printing Expense	70,883.46
Secretary's Stipend	3,238.75
Total Expenditures	<u>37,045.76</u>
Reserve Fund Balance	2,758.76
Cash Balance, Am. Nat'l Bank	<u>\$3.62</u>
	\$35,558.34
 Joseph D. Hayes Secretary/Treasurer	

BY-LAWS AMENDMENT TO ALTER TERMS OF OFFICE

A motion was proposed, seconded and overwhelmingly passed by the general business meeting at Carlisle to ask the current APIC officers to serve an additional one year, so as to bring the terms of office back into synchronization with the national conventions. After it was pointed out by the Parliamentarian that the extension of officers' terms would require an amendment to the By-laws, the motion was changed to a call for an amendment to be sent to all members for their vote.

Until the recent change in national conventions from even years to odd years, elections of new officers coincided with the national conventions. Since in the future conventions will be held in odd years, Chris Olmstead, proposer of the motion, asked for this one time extension in order to return to the traditional term of office framework.

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Number 44
November 1, 1980

The Washington
Building Craftsman

Official Publication of
the Washington, D.C.
Building and Construction
 Trades Council, AFL-CIO

VOTE NOV. 4



Mike Barnes
for Congress
Md. 5th District



Charles Mathias, Jr.
U.S. Senator
Maryland



Joseph Fisher
for Congress
Va. 10th District



Carter-Mandale:
A Clear Choice



Gladys H. Spellman
for Congress
Md. 4th District



Herb Harris
for Congress
Va. 8th District



Roy Dyson
for Congress
Md. 2nd District

Multigate Poster

This is an unusual multigate poster issued by a labor union for use in the Washington metropolitan area. It is one of only a few known posters promoting candidates on a multistate basis. Gladys Spellman had a severe stroke just before the election and although re-elected with 70% of the vote, was never able to return to Congress. Her seat was vacated in 1981, and Steny Hoyer (D) was elected to the office.

Q & A

by David J. Frent

Q. Where did Blaine get the Plumed Knight label?

A. Like many other famous nicknames, Blaine received this tag at a national political convention. It came about when his long-time friend, Robert Ingersoll, who first nominated him in 1876, referred to him at the 1884 Republican National Convention as "an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, marching down the aisles of Congress defending his country."



Q. Why were so many Clay Items shown with a raccoon?

A. The raccoon was a symbol of the Whig Party. Since Clay was the most heralded and long-time Whig in the national spotlight, he became "the same old coon." Some items show a coon attacking a rooster, the symbol of the Democratic Party (Polk). An interesting sidelight to this conflict was Whig rallies in which a raccoon would actually kill a rooster to the delight of some and the horror of many others.



(Fusion Mayors - Cont. from Page 15)

the Republican nomination by four or five people. There was something called an election. They decided that they wanted to put their imprimatur on what I've done. It was Republicans saying "We like the way this guy is running the city."

"If one of the parties doesn't like what I'm doing," he added, "they can vote against me the next time."★

Reprinted From *The New York Times*

(APIC Project 1980 - Cont. from Page 25)

80/507. Certainly one of the most attractive name pins, this 1 3/4" red, white and blue celluloid was distributed in Southern California during the primary.

80/508. Issued in late 1979, this 2 1/4" blue on white button-machine celluloid was ordered by Kennedy forces in Baltimore and distributed at campaign functions in Maryland and Washington, D.C.

80/509. Another "Open Convention" button, this 2 1/4" blue and white celluloid was put out by the New York state Kennedy delegation, chaired by Shirley Chisholm and Manfred Ohrenstein.

80/510. 2 1/4" blue, black and white top quality badge-a-minut manufactured by a small Montana company for Kennedy primary campaign fundraising.

80/511. This very tacky 2 1/4" red, white, blue and black button-machine celluloid was made by Kennedy supporter Joel Davis for distribution at a California Democratic Council (or Committee) meeting.

80/512. 2 1/4" red and white celluloid used by Kennedy campaigners during the Texas primary.

80/513. This 1 1/2" red and white celluloid was made by N. G. Slater and used in the "National Unity" office in Washington, D.C. late in the campaign. This standard design was also available in other parts of the country.

80/514. This 1 1/4" red and white celluloid was made by Pennsylvania National Unity Campaign, in Philadelphia, in small quantity late in the campaign. Horn Co. on curl.

80/515. Brown on white, 2 1/4" celluloid used in Washington, D.C. at the Gay caucus. Kennedy won the caucus endorsement for the D.C. primary.

80/516. This 2 1/2" red and white celluloid was used in conjunction with Francis Ford Coppola's multi-media production during Brown's attempt to inject new life into his floundering campaign in the Wisconsin primary.

80/517. This 1 1/2" red, white and blue celluloid was given out at a Waukegan, Illinois, cocktail party for George Bush. The intent was to attract Anderson supporters for the Illinois primary.

80/518. 1 1/2" blue and white celluloid was used by Bush workers in New York City during New York's complicated primary.

80/519. 2 1/8" red, white and blue celluloid made by Dalo, NY, using the official 1980 symbol of the convention.

80/520. 2 1/4" yellow and black celluloid used by Stassen forces during the Washington, D.C. primary.

80/521. This 2 1/4" yellow, black and red celluloid was made by N.G. Slater for the national Socialist Workers' party campaign early in 1980.

80/522. This 2 1/4" blue and black celluloid is a most unusual 3rd party coattail used in Illinois by the Socialist Workers Party. ★



*Bob a dab dab,
There were in a tub,
And who do you think they be?
Valle, Jenner and Wiseman's be!
Tare them out faster, all three!*

If the *New Republic* seems prejudiced when it writes about Valle, Jenner or McCarthy, it's because we are. We have nothing against them personally; it's just that it's our job to mud their record—and report it.

We're sorry this record isn't easy to come by these days. For example, Senator Tobey re-

sisted that you couldn't get a copy of the Senate report on McCarthy "no more your soul"—not until the *New Republic* reprinted it.

We hope you'll help us bring this kind of independent reporting to more Americans. So that you can help, we now offer this special invitation to new readers.

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PLUS

The documented, hard-to-get report on McCarthy's finances.

For the enclosed \$ please send the *New Republic* for the next 20 weeks and the McCarthy reprint free to the following:

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FELLOW-TRAVELER, PARLOR-PINK, COMMUNIST

*Is there a place for them in our Government?
The American people say "No!" The Republican
Party says "No!" And what do the Democrats say?
Their actions speak louder than their words.*

Here is the record:

Investigators have turned up Communists in the Department of State and other important Government offices. Communist spies are known

to have stolen vital atomic secrets which speeded Russia's atomic developments by at least a year. They stole proximity-fuse secrets and highly confidential diplomatic papers. Despite all of this — efforts to ferret out and remove Communists and Communist sympathizers from Government have been resisted.

How much longer are the American people going to stand for Fellow-Travelers, Parlor-Pinks and Communists helping shape policies and having access to military and diplomatic secrets which may cost our very freedom? *The answer is in your vote . . .*

Help clean up the mess in Washington

Join the IKE-NIXON Crusade... Fight Communism and Corruption
Vote REPUBLICAN November 4th

The Age Of McCarthyism